

Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6154
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 3644

LIMDIS

FOR AF DICK MOOSE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIAN PROPOSALS

REF: STATE 212757

1. GENERAL OUTLOOK: THE INDICATIONS ARE NYERERE IS SATISFIED WITH THE PROPOSALS, WILL SUPPORT THEM PERSONALLY, AND WILL ENCOURAGE SUPPORT AMONG HIS FRONT-LINE COLLEAGUES AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. NEITHER NYERERE NOR ANYONE ELSE EXPECTS SMITH OR VORSTER TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS AND MOVE AHEAD, BUT THE MORE SOPHISTICATED OF THE AFRICANS SEE THE PRESENT SITUATION AS A MAJOR VICTORY FOR THEM ON THE POLITICAL FRONT. THUS, I WOULD SAY THE OUTLOOK IN THE SHORT TERM AT LEAST IS NOT GOOD FOR AN ACTUAL SETTLEMENT BUT BETTER THAN IT EVER HAS BEEN IN THE PAST FOR CONTINUED COOPERATION WITH THE AFRICANS.

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2. KEY PROBLEM AREAS: (A) WHEN AND HOW DO WE GO TO THE UN AND MANAGE THINGS THERE? (B) HOW DO WE BRING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO A MORE POSITIVE POSITION, AT THE SAME TIME AVOIDING CATALYZING THEIR SMOULDERING ANGER AT THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS (AND NIGERIA) FOR DICTATING TO THEM? (C) HOW MUCH TIME DO WE ALLOW FOR CONSULTATION BEFORE PROCLAIMING SMITH'S DE FACTO NON-ACCEPTANCE?, AND (D) WHAT MEASURES DO WE THEN TAKE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE

INTEND TO GET HIM OUT?

3. PRINCIPAL DANGERS: (A) A VORSTER-BACKED SMITH ATTEMPT AT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WITH SUFFICIENTLY PLAUSIBLE ELEMENTS IN IT TO DENY US STRONG WEST EUROPEAN SUPPORT AND TO DIVIDE US PUBLIC OPINION, (B) PATRIOTIC FRONT INTRANSIGENCE WHICH THE FRONT LINE IS UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO OVERCOME IN THE ABSENCE OF A PROMPT AND CLEARCUT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSALS, (C) BRITISH BACKSLIDING AS THE MOMENT OF TAKING IT ALL TO PARLIAMENT APPROACHES, (D) SMITH AND VORSTER SUCCEEDING IN THEIR EFFORTS TO DELAY ACTION ON THE PROPOSALS, (E) MAJOR DIVERSIONARY MILITARY ATTACKS BY RHODESIA ON NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, (F) OUTBREAK OF MAJOR FIGHTING AMONG NATIONALIST FORCES, AND (G) STRONG SOVIET OR CHINESE MOVES IN THE UN OR ELSEWHERE TO BLOCK MOVEMENT OF THE PROPOSALS OR TO OFFER AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH.

4. FOCUS OF PRIMARY EFFORTS: FOR THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, NYERERE AND HIS MAJOR AFRICAN COLLEAGUES ARE LIKELY TO HOLD FIRM. WE SHOULD SHARE THE SPECIFICS OF OUR UN PLANS WITH THEM AS EARLY AND COMPLETELY AS POSSIBLE. NYERERE HAS SAID SALIM "WILL HELP," BUT THE FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT HERE WITH ITS LONG-STANDING CAREFULLY WORKED-OUT INTERRELATIONSHIP WITH THE MOST RADICAL ELEMENTS OF THE NAM IS NOT AS FAVORABLY INCLINED TOWARD OUR EFFORT AS IS NYERERE AND FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA. THEREFORE, ALL IMPORTANT WORK SHOULD BE DONE TWICE: IN NEW YORK WITH SALIM
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AND HERE THROUGH US.

5. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, I THINK, IS TO GET OUT ON THE TABLE TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE POSSIBLE WHAT WE INTEND TO DO IF SMITH STILL BALKS. IF THERE IS LEGISLATION THAT HAS TO GO TO CONGRESS FOR FURTHER SANCTIONS, ETC., LET IT BE KNOWN THAT WE ARE PREPARING IT. IF WE WANT TO AVOID THE TRICKY SANCTION QUESTION IN THE UN FOR THE TIME BEING, LET'S START CONSULTATIONS ON IT WITH FRIENDLY WESTERN EUROPEAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES (E.G., THE NORDICS) - AND LET THAT BE KNOWN. ANOTHER PUBLIC STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OR THE VICE PRESIDENT ON THE INEVITABLE FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA IF THIS OPPORTUNITY IS LOST WOULD BE USEFUL. IF SOMEONE COULD BE BROUGHT ACTUALLY TO DIVERT A TANKER HEADED FOR SOUTH AFRICA THAT WOULD HELP.

6. DESIRABLE FOLLOW-UPS: AS FAR AS NYERERE AND TANZANIA ARE CONCERNED, FOR THE TIME BEING THE MOST IMPORTANT THING TO DO IS SIMPLY TO KEEP THEM INFORMED. GENERALLY, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO TWIN WITH THE BRITISH, BUT OCCASIONAL PURELY BI-LATERAL EXCHANGE SHOULD ALSO BE MAINTAINED. FIELD MARSHAL CARVER SHOULD PROMPTLY TAKE TO THE HUSTINGS. WE SHOULD SOUND OUT THE CHINESE, AS WELL AS THE RUSSIANS, IN THE UN CONTEXT. THE FRONT-LINE

PRESIDENTS WILL PROBABLY SOON GET TOGETHER AGAIN, BUT I DON'T
THINK WE SHOULD PUSH THEM TO DO SO UNLESS SOME SPECIFIC REASON
DEVELOPS. LET'S JUST CALMLY ASSUME THEIR SUPPORT. TOP-LEVEL US-UK
POLICY OFFICIALS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DO ANOTHER AFRICAN TOUR
AFTER THE FIRST ROUND OF ACTION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE UN.
MEANWHILE, PRESS ON WITH NAMIBIA.
SPAIN

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